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RHODE ISLAND POLITICS,
AND JOURNALISM.

A LETTER

FROM

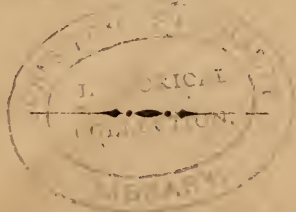
THOMAS DAVIS,

TO

HON. HENRY B. ANTHONY,

U. S. SENATOR.

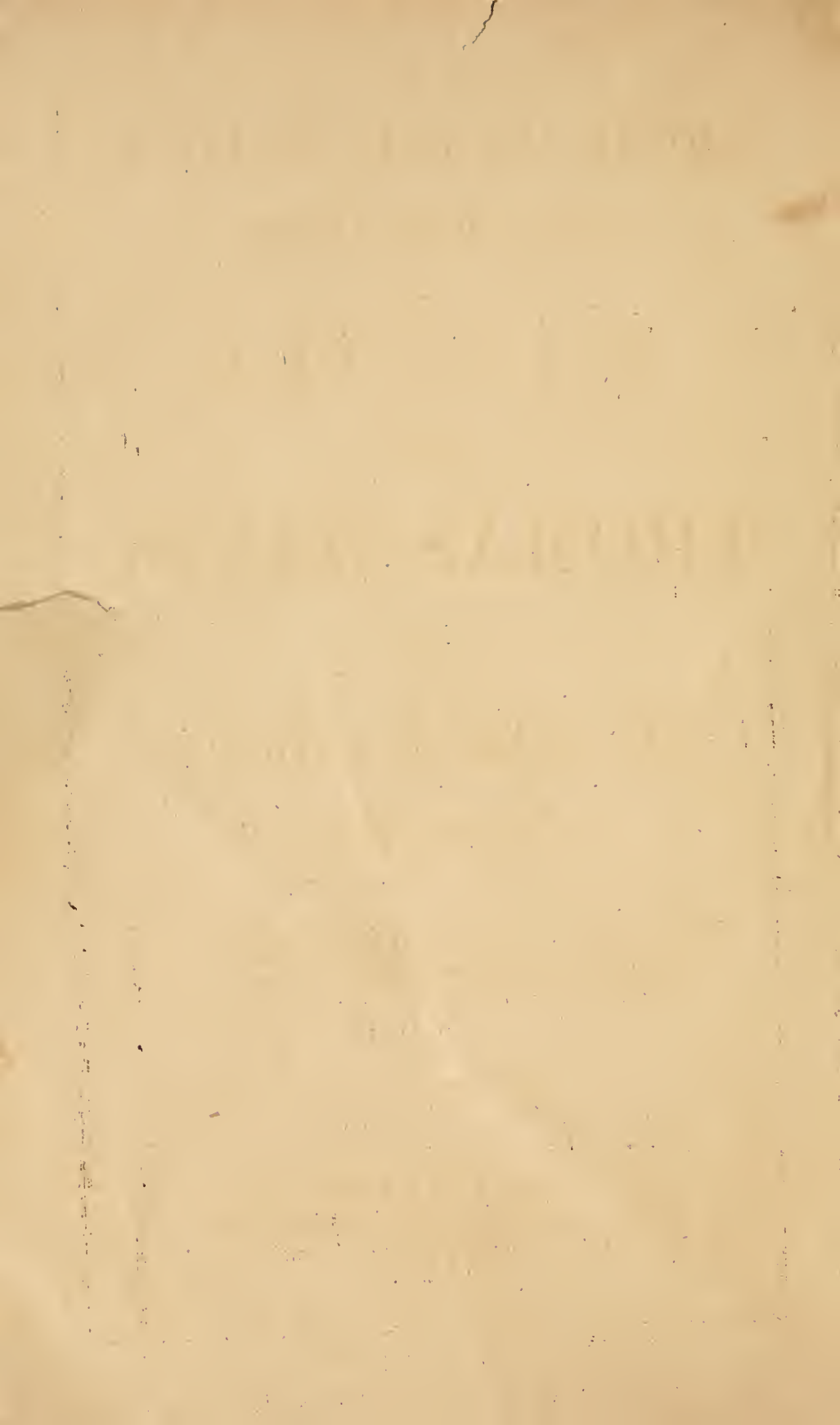
“No, they cannot touch me for Coining ;
I am the King himself.”—LEAR.



PROVIDENCE:

A. CRAWFORD GREENE, PRINTER, 43 CANAL STREET.

1866.



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JUN 20 1906

HON. HENRY B. ANTHONY,

Sir:

I offer no special apology for addressing you at this time.

The relation existing between us gives me a right to choose my own time, or any time that may suit my purpose and not be offensive to good taste, or inconsistent with a proper regard for public opinion.

To you, Senator Anthony, I owe nothing politically. I have received nought but wrong and injustice at your hands. I say on my part, unprovoked and unmerited; unless it be a provocation to defend one's character as a public man, against imputations which if verified, ought to consign me to more than political obscurity. I have rested for some years under accusations and imputations foul and false, cast upon me by you during the canvas of 1859. Guiltless I was of what you then charged me with: nay, to the extent of my ability I made an earnest effort to hold prominently before the public intellect and conscience the principles and issues of the National Republican Party and to preserve in the State, its organization intact. I was the candidate for Congress of the National Republican party, receiving the nomination only as I have received all the nominations that were ever tendered to me, without intrigue or solicitation. I was by every consideration of justice and honor and sound party policy entitled to your support and the hospitality of the *Providence Journal*, then supposed to be the organ of the Republican Party.

And now, after a lapse of five years, you renew and reiterate those charges with a confidence which might lead those who do not know you to suppose that you believe what you assert in your *Organ* with so much flippancy and assurance.

You concede to me the quality of frankness; and I am aware of exercising, on one occasion, a plainness of speech which was in some measure due to your personal presence. I refer to the remarks made by me, on the politics and Journalism of the State, and your connection with them, in the Convention assembled in the State House, on the 22d of Septem-

ber, 1864, for the purpose of nominating Presidential electors. On that occasion two sets of delegates presented themselves from the city of Providence, one of which had been called into existence solely for the purpose of electing to the Senate of the United States the editor of the Providence Journal.

Whoever reads your comments on the remarks made by me at the Convention cannot fail to discover that all reserve was thrown aside. Your article is not criticism but vituperation ; a philippic which, for reckless assertion, has no parallel in the Journalism of this State in our day. I was not unprepared for every kind of accusation that a detected and exposed offender could utter or invent. I was not unmindful

“ That he who stands upon a slippery place,
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up.”

You charge me in your *Organ* with nearly every species of political depravity. You do it as a matter of necessity to conceal your own baseness and treachery. I am the object of your peculiar and pointed malignity because I have dared to maintain, in defiance of your influence and authority, the integrity of the party to which we both *professed* to belong, and which, with an utter disregard of all the rules that govern honorable partisans, you have set at naught whenever your personal ambition or interest could thereby be served.

Your whole political history is stained with intrigue and duplicity. You have employed the most unscrupulous means and agents in your service, and by long training they have become experts in the degraded political school of which you now stand in this community, the acknowledged head and leader ; and your last election, if in any proper sense it can be called an election, to the Senate of the United States, will be long remembered as an embodiment of the worst elements that ever, in our State, entered into a political contest—a contest growing out of your inordinate self-conceit that you were the only man *pur excellence* in Rhode Island qualified to fill the place of United States Senator.

Your wholesale accusation and denunciation of me, in your article of Sept. 23, 1864, commences as follows :

“ To say that Mr. Davis made an extraordinary exhibition of himself in the electoral convention would not be strictly true. Doubtless, it would have been an extraordinary exhibition in almost any body else ; but with due allowance for the effect of disappointed ambition and of recent defeat, upon a temper not

over sweet by nature, we cease to feel much surprise that he should bring his petty personal griefs to the notice of the convention, and detain the assembled representatives of the party with a recital of the reasons why the people of North Providence would not send him to the General Assembly."

Your article is an attack on my private character, and represents me as a man whose *disappointed ambition*, acting on a soured temper, had led to an exhibition discreditable to my standing and character, or would have been so to any other man.

I can inform you once for all, that you and I see things with very different eyes. I have seldom performed a public duty that gave me greater, I may say profounder satisfaction. Somebody was bound to arraign the greatest political offender in the State, and that duty devolved on me. I met you face to face in the plenitude of your power; and I can assure you I was glad beyond expression to have such an opportunity.—You should have kept your disorganizing delegation out of the Convention, and they, or rather their representative successors would have been spared the disgrace of expulsion from the State Convention in 1865.

But I have made the above extract more particularly for the purpose of referring to that part of it in which you say I "detained the Convention with a recital of the reasons why the people of North Providence would not send me to the General Assembly."

I think you can hardly be conscious of the estimate placed on you since that election. It would be difficult, by any single act, to sink a public reputation from respectability to contempt, more certainly than was done by you, in your conduct towards your old and devoted friends—the Union electors of North Providence.

On the occasion of their primary meeting for the choice of delegates to attend the State convention, they found themselves, in their own regularly called caucus, confronted by numbers sufficient to have outvoted them, introduced or carried there by your political partisans. All that were outside the Democratic party would not have exceeded a dozen "conservative gentlemen."

The prominent and most efficient leaders in this raid on order and decency, were persons holding appointments under the Federal Government—positions conferred on them through your influence as a Senator in Congress. Finding themselves

thus outnumbered, the union electors withdrew to another hall and there made a choice of delegates. As a consequence, two sets of delegates presented themselves at the State convention to represent the town of North Providence. After an earnest and searching discussion, your "conservative" delegates were rejected. But this defeat, as the sequel will show, did not end the game on your part. You had determined to be re-elected United States Senator cost what it might of honor or character.

You treated with contempt the decisions of the State convention, denounced its action, and moved on to the execution of your plans. That this matter may be perfectly understood, I copy from your organ, the Providence Journal of March 30th, and of April 5th, 1864, the two tickets for Representatives to the General Assembly nominated by the respective parties.

I will give your successful ticket the first place.

"The Union National and Democratic Caucus, last evening, adopted the following nominations for the General Assembly:—"

For Senator, Lewis Fairbrother.

- " 1st Representative, L. M. E. Stone,
- " 2d " Albert W. Carpenter, *Dem.*
- " 3d " Herbert E. Dodge, *Dem.*
- " 4th " Jesse Metcalf,
- " 5th " Ralph P. Devereaux, *Dem.*

"A Caucus of Union National electors was held at the Town Hall at 2 o'clock, yesterday afternoon, after a few hours notice by hand-bill."

For Senator, William Grosvenor.

- " 1st Representative, William M. Bailey,
- " 2d " James Davis,
- " 3d " Hiram H. Thomas,
- " 4th " Gideon L. Spencer,
- " 5th " Thomas Davis,

James C. Collins having declined a re-election."

This last ticket, defeated by your treacherous conduct, received the vote of nearly every earnest Union National elector in the town of North Providence. It is safe to say, that not fifty men who had ever supported the Republican ticket cast their votes with the successful party. All the rest were Democrats or mercenaries, purchased by you and your *revenue* friends.

The ticket nominated by the Union National party was the same as the year preceding, with the single exception that my own name was added to the list, to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of Mr. Collins, who had been chosen State Au-

ditor ; and certainly, before you made your raid on the primary meeting, there were men on the ticket who were your political friends, and who, if elected, would have supported you for the United States Senate in preference to any other candidate ; and there was not a man on the ticket who would not have abided by the decisions of the majority, in any party caucus of the members of the Assembly. But this was not enough. You wanted, Macbeth like, to "make assurance doubly sure," and, in violation of all the rules that have hitherto bound and held honorable men together as members of a political society, you proceeded to execute your plans.

There was another feature in the contest in North Providence worthy of special notice. The most active and efficient supporters of your party were men holding office under the Federal Government, and commissioned by Abraham Lincoln ; and, at your instigation and for your benefit, they directed all their energies *to defeat* the ticket on which were six earnest, loyal and regularly nominated friends and supporters of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, and *to elect* the ticket on which three of the nominees were earnest in their support of the Democratic party, and who did, when the time arrived, cast their votes for George B. McClellan.

You speak as if you fancied yourself wronged and injured, and that there was no just cause for opposing your career. I quote from your organ of Sept. 29th, 1864. "The unpleasant controversy in which we find ourselves engaged with men professing the same political opinions has been forced upon us unwillingly and after unexampled forbearance."

You entertain very strange notions of "forbearance." Your hand was raised against every man, and you struck down their most sacred rights. When you came into North Providence and packed the primary meeting of the Union National party, and elected to the General Assembly, Democrats, was this an instance of your "forbearance ?" When you caused the same thing to be done in Newport, was that another instance of "forbearance ?" When you induced a portion of the City Committee of Providence to "bolt and secede," and issue that immortal manifesto, was that again an instance of your "unexampled forbearance ?"

Your whole proceedings may seem to you perfectly right and justifiable. Your reasoning and your conduct imply that you have reached that mental condition which makes you sup-

pose that every thing in the State connected with its politics is to bend to your official or private advantage. The officers who obtain their appointment from the General Government, in case of a senatorial election, are required to conform their conduct to your demands ; or if they witness the most gross and palpable outrages on the rights of the electors, and take no part in resisting them, they may escape proscription and removal ; but active opposition to your demoralizing and disorganizing schemes is an offence not to be forgotten or overlooked. Few of your fellow citizens doubt that Mr. Chickering could have retained his place as Postmaster of Pawtucket, if he had aided in the base work performed for your special benefit by other Government officials in North Providence.

In other times, when the Democratic party was in the ascendant, there was loud, long and strong railing at them by you in your Organ, for allowing the office-holders to be active in support of the measures or candidates of the party to which they belonged. Under the new dispensation established by your supremacy, the first requisite is personal homage and devotion to the Senatorial will.

Your whole argument against me proceeds on the assumption that there was no such thing in Rhode Island as a Republican party in 1859. If you can establish that position, I shall find no difficulty in showing *you* as the active, malignant and treacherous foe, whose envenomed stiletto gave it the fatal stab. Take which horn of the dilemma you please ; if it was dead—you killed it ; if buried—you dug its grave and presided at its obsequies.

You were pronounced Republican and elected United States Senator by the Legislature of 1858 ; and yet in 1859 *we have no Republican Party !* not even to elect members to the National Congress ! In all the other Free States such a party existed, but in Rhode Island it had been extinguished by the fiat of the *Providence Journal* and its Republican Senatorial editor. Let us proceed to examine the record :

It is undeniable that the *Providence Journal* was the organ of the Republican Party, and that its editor accepted the principles and adopted the platform of the convention that met at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, and which nominated John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton for President and Vice-President of the United States, and invited the co-operation of their fellow citizens in the following language :—

"This convention of delegates, in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States *without regard to past political differences and divisions*, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration; to the extension of slavery to free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson—"

A Platform was framed in accordance with the above declaration of Principles.

You, Senator Anthony, called yourself a Republican when Mr. Durfee was chosen in 1857 to the Congress of the United States, and Thomas G. Turner, known since as Gov. Turner, was the candidate of the Republicans, and received the support of the *Providence Journal*, in opposition to Mr. Saunders, the candidate of the American Republicans; the rest of the ticket for General officers being identical; so that the election in April, 1857, closed without any pretense that the party had changed its name or adopted a new Platform.

I will now proceed to show who the disorganizer of the Republican Party was, and the method by which it was accomplished. I shall rely on evidence furnished by yourself to sustain me in making out the charges, and shall quote from the columns of the *Providence Journal*, your own exclusive organ.

Whoever reads the *Journal* of June 20th, 1859, may learn how easy a matter it is in Rhode Island to disorganize, secede from, and break up a National Party. Thus it runs:—

"So the State Convention was called, headed "Republican." Some of the Americans objected, that, as they furnished a full share of the voters, their distinctive name ought to be preserved in the official call. The members of the General Assembly recommended that *they should be gratified*; the State Committee met and readily assented; it could do no harm and might save some votes, and it was only retaining a name already adopted. It has been alleged that the Committee had no authority for this. True, but the Committee *might well assume* the authority under the general power of calling the Convention. Whether it might or might not, it is quite certain the people endorsed the course by their votes."

Here it is fully admitted that the National Republican Party was disorganized; and such paltry reasons are given as only an apostate politician of unscrupulous character would venture to disclose.

You assert that "the State Committee met and readily assented." The facts are these;—nine of a Committee of fifteen, hastily called together, and five of these nine present, under the skilful management of the recently elected United States Senator, voted to assume the authority; or, in other

words, five out of a Committee consisting of fifteen, confirmed the treachery which you had planned. On calling the whole Committee together, it was found that a majority was opposed to the assumption of such powers; and the Republican State Committee called a convention, which assembled March 17, 1858, and passed the following resolutions and elected a State Committee whose names are worth holding in remembrance.

Resolved, That this Convention approve of the principles and policy embodied in the resolves of the Philadelphia Convention of June 17th, 1856, and reaffirmed in the declaration of the Republican Congressional Caucus of December 17th, 1857.

Resolved, That we invite the co-operation of all friends of freedom and the right of self-government, of whatever political party, in a united effort for the overthrow of an administration, and a party subjected to the rule, and pledged to the selfish policy of the slaveholding oligarchy.

Resolved, That the State Committee be authorized to issue the next call for a State Convention in conformity herewith.

R. R. CARR,	}	<i>Newport County.</i>
R. R. HAZARD, JR.,		
J. T. HOPKINS,		
JEIHRO PECKHAM,		

THOMAS DAVIS,	}	<i>Providence County.</i>
STEPHEN BENEDICT,		
EDWARD HARRIS,		
C. A. SLOCUM,		
WILLIAM M. CHACE,		

BYRON DIMAN,	}	<i>Bristol County.</i>
H. H. LUTHER,		

ROWLAND G. HAZARD,	}	<i>Washington County.</i>
HORACE BABCOCK,		
SYLVESTER ROBINSON,		

NICHOLAS BROWN,	}	<i>Kent County.</i>
C. D. KENYON,		

State Republican Committee.

This State committee so chosen called the conventions, State and District, which assembled Feb. 16, 1859, and nominated candidates for State and National offices. The convention was an earnest and most substantial body, the members of which, the Journal informed its readers, "were elected or rather selected, were most respectable and influential, and their names gave a power to the movement that it did not deserve from the numbers whom they represented." It will be readily seen that the men composing the State Committee were also of such character that neither Mr. Davis nor Mr. Anthony could use them for unworthy ends. Yes, they *were* men whom you could not with all your perverse ingenuity hoodwink or mystify.

Several of them had been delegates to the National convention which organized the Republican Party, and their determined purpose was to continue its existence unbroken until the objects of its organization were accomplished.

Senator Anthony could not make that committee subservient to his purposes, and so he brands them as disorganizers, and pronounces them and the party they represented, as *impracticable and unconciliatory*. There was a steadfast integrity which insisted on the ascendancy of the National party in the State, and would accept nothing less, and asked nothing more. They understood perfectly well, that no mere caucus of the Rhode Island Legislature, no political pranks of the Senatorial editor, could dissolve or transfer their allegiance from a great National organization, extending itself into every part of the Union where freedom of speech could be maintained, and destined in 1860 to crown its beneficent mission in the election of a Republican President. Their aims were far reaching and patriotic; but he who should have stood as the head and front of the party and defended its organization from all assaults, became, for the time being, its most active, adroit, and unscrupulous enemy—a Republican Senator of the United States, disorganizing the National Party, weakening the force and narrowing the scope of the vital principles on which it rested, assailing its truest friends, and embracing its unprincipled foes!

In the *Providence Journal* of Sept. 23d, 1859, you say of me :—

“In 1859, having left the Democratic party, he was a candidate for the American Republican nomination, and was supported by his friends in a severe struggle in the Convention, running through eighteen ballots. On the eighteenth, Christopher Robinson received the nomination. What did Thomas Davis do? With what frank submission did he yield to the decision of the Convention? How did he illustrate his high ideas of Party allegiance? He bolted, he seceded, he set up for himself, hoping, doubtless, to defeat the election on the first trial, and to receive the aid of his old friends, the Democrats, on the second. Every other candidate yielded; he, alone, held his personal claims superior to the success of the party.”

I was not by any act of my own a member of the American nor the American Republican Party; and for you to charge me with “bolting or seceding” from a party, whose principles and organization you very well knew I had persistently and uniformly opposed; is, on your part, simply a piece of insolent mendacity. My relation to the Republican Party

of the Nation could not be severed or essentially changed by your shameless dereliction. If my conduct is to be tried by a standard established by you, then you are the supreme authority in the State, and make wrong and right by the decisions of your own will. This is the doctrine of pure despotism, and would leave you free, and bind every other man to follow you in your tortuous and slippery track. I repudiate your doctrines and the assumptions growing out of them. I was as old a member of the Republican Party as you were. A delegate to the National convention, I was present and aided in its organization in June 1856. You separated from the Whig, and I came out from the Democratic Party; and in view of the critical condition of the country we solemnly agreed, in the language of the Philadelphia platform, "thenceforth to disregard all past political differences and divisions, and invite the co-operation of the men of all parties however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared." You had no more right, under this compact, to enter and reorganize the Whig party, than I had to re-enter the ranks of the Democratic Party. This you did in spirit if not in name, and in open defiance of all the reason and intelligent conscience of the State. If I had attempted to serve my old democratic friends, by conferring on them places of power and emolument, meanly excluding every Republican of whig antecedents, you would not have failed to denounce my conduct, in your organ, as that of an unprincipled trickster; and such indeed I should have been in the estimation of honorable men.

Reverse this picture and see if you did not do precisely this thing by the men of democratic antecedents. You had the means, growing out of your position as a Senator in Congress, and especially as editor of the only organ of the party in Providence, and it may be said in the State, whose politics you had controlled for more than a quarter of a century. The State small and compactly populated, the city of Providence containing nearly one third of the whole population, and more than that proportion of the wealth, you succeeded, as no other man could have done, in consummating this treachery, and thus making a record of your political dishonesty historically memorable: for, as surely as the events of the past ten years are ever reviewed by the historian, he will not fail to find the evidence completely furnished by your own pen, and recorded in

the columns of your journal, that you, Senator Anthony, exceptional to every other Republican Senator, in the year 1859, at a period of great public peril, when patriotic men were every where throughout this broad land, laboring to enlarge, strengthen and unite all the opponents of Slavery on the Platform of the Republican Party—had, in this State, entered into the closest alliance with a portion of the old Whig Party. Yes, that faction or fraction of the old Whig Party, which, in 1856 cast sixteen hundred votes in the State against the Republicans, became, through your agency a controlling power in this little commonwealth; and next to yourself, the leaders of this Fillmore Party became the most efficient political power in Rhode Island. Let me refer somewhat in detail to this part of the subject. I wish to show what a sacred regard you had for the compact entered into with the Republican Party! how honorably you carried out that part of the platform of the party, in which you engage to unite with all who will come, ‘*withou^t regard to past political differences or divisions.*’

I begin with the orator selected to present to the voters the antecedents of the Republican candidate for Congress. This orator was the eloquent and adroit, though not over scrupulous gentleman who had been the leading campaign speaker for the Fillmore party in 1856.

I take from your *Journal* of March 28th, 1859, an extract from the proceedings of the American Republican ratification meeting, which was called to order by Wm. R. Watson Esq. “The first speaker announced was the Hon. Charles C. Van Zandt, who on being introduced was received with great enthusiasm, and spoke of the Republican Party and its candidate for Congress in the following strain:—”

“The strife was commenced by a few disaffected persons, who were dissatisfied with the distribution of the State offices, who wished to be the party leaders, and who, when they found it impossible to do this, said ‘We will have a party of our own;’ and they have a party. The slave system was next discussed. The record of Mr. Davis was reviewed—how being of foreign birth, he had, during the greatest part of his life, been identified with the Democratic party;—that party, said the speaker, which had always had a black stripe in its banner—how he voted for President Polk, for Gen. Cass, and for Franklin Pierce—how he had been one of the earliest supporters of the insurrectionary movement in 1842—how he was a member of the General Assembly; in consequence of which, Philip Allen, a Democrat, was sent to Congress—how he had in every possible way, aided the extension of slavery by laboring with the Democratic party—how he ran for Democratic moderator in North Providence a year since. The Free Trade proclivities of Mr. Davis were rebuked, as were also his principles of anti-protection to domestic industry.”

This meeting was exclusively Whig. Of its one hundred Vice Presidents there was not among them a solitary representative of the Three Thousand electors who had come out from the Democratic Party in 1856. The Democratic element was entirely ignored. *Your name*, Republican Senator, flourishes in the list of Vice Presidents. And what a spectacle you present! reversing the whole compact in its letter and spirit, and taking into closest political communion those who were the most active enemies of the Republican Party and its principles in the great campaign of 1856, and who so continued, and defeated the Republicans in the State election in 1860—and using them to defame, assail and misrepresent the oldest and most faithful Republicans in the State, men whose shoe latches, politically speaking, you were not worthy to unloose!

I will now show by further extracts from the Providence Journal, how the *morale* of the Party was broken down and the defeat of the Republicans accomplished. In the Journal of February 28th, 1859, you thus introduce the American Republican Candidate for Congress:—

“Mr. Robinson is a Whig of the school of Henry Clay, and such a man does not have to abandon any of his old principles or to adopt any new ones in accepting an American Republican nomination. Now he stands before us the regular nominee of the party opposed to the present policy of the National Administration, to the extension of Slavery, and in favor of protection to American industry. This is a very good Whig platform.”

The extract which follows is from the address of the American Republican State Central Committee, April 1, 1859, only five days before the election.

“The excuse they (the Republicans) give for their attempt to divide the present State administration is, that their movement is necessary to meet some anticipated national organization, that may or may not be had in the Presidential election of 1860. What warrant have they that the opposition to the National Democratic Party in 1860 will assume that particular name?”

Thus it will be seen that the Republican Party is repudiated both as an existing fact or a future hope. I do not affirm, Senator, that you wrote the address of the American Republican Party. I think it is not in your style: perhaps you can say who its author was, and what part he acted in the Campaign of 1856.

Now read the denunciations of the Republican Party by its own recently elected Senator. I quote from the Journal of April 1st, 1859. “The Strait Republicans must take the re-

sponsibility of the division in the ranks of the opposition. The American Republican was the existing organization, and it has been sanctioned by the popular vote." Here we have the old fable of the wolf and lamb repeated. "It was the Strait Republicans that disturbed the harmony of our politics by breaking from the regular and prevailing organization!" How audaciously these charges are made against men who were simply maintaining their well considered and honest relations to the Republican Party of the Nation.

I proceed to make another class of extracts which were expressly designed to turn and fasten the odium of the "division" upon the Candidate of the Republican Party for Congress, or more distinctively, on myself, personally.

In the Journal of April 2d, 1859, you have the following paragraph:

"Mr. Robinson was nominated by a Convention fairly elected, and with the view to the selection of the candidate that should best unite the party and advance its principles. Mr. Davis is the candidate of a Convention, nominally Republican, but really a Davis Convention. To content the exclusive friends of Mr. Davis, the call should have been addressed to all opposed to the policy of the administration and the extension of Slavery, and in favor of the nomination of Thomas Davis."

There was on the first trial no election in the Eastern district, and the Candidate of the Republicans published an address to the electors, giving reasons for continuing the contest. This elicited a fresh outbreak against the nominee of the Republican Party for again daring to defy the authority of the Editorial Senator. On June 12th, 1859, the day after the address was issued, your organ declared that

"The persistence of Mr. Davis' friends in bringing him forward again under existing circumstances is extraordinary. The strait Republicans had a nominal organization, but did not bring out separate candidates. Their committee asked for a conference with the American Republican. The latter proposed to call a convention of all the opponents of the National Administration. The Strait Republicans declined this."

In the Journal of June 14th, 1859, you say:—

"Mr. Davis speaks of unprincipled and mendacious party leaders. We do not know whom he means; but we know such language ill becomes the man who has been treated with so great courtesy by the party he has divided and distracted in his persistent determination to run against the wishes of the majority. If Mr. Davis will not let his personal advancement stand in the way of the settlement of this unfortunate controversy let him withdraw his name."

June 17th, you say of the Republican Convention—"It was

a very respectable Convention but it was undoubtedly held in the interest of one man."

You represent me as governed by no other or higher motives than my own personal advancement, and at a period when the *Providence Journal* had the power to make the people believe it. The false position of the Senator required the case to be "worked up," else it might be made apparent to the majority as it already was to the well informed minority of the electors, that Anthony and not Davis was the "bolter and seceder" who had complicated the politics of the State, and who called good evil and evil good, to show his great power by demonstrating that whichever way he chose to cast his Senatorial and editorial influence, there the majority could be counted upon.

On the 21st of June, 1859, the day before the special election for member of Congress you issued the following remarkable manifesto :

"The nomination of Mr. Robinson is perfectly fair and honorable, as he represents the party that has been from the first in favor of conciliation and union ; as he stands on the only platform that is broad enough to hold all the opponents of the extension of Slavery."

You affirm that the Convention which assembled at Philadelphia in June 1856 did not succeed in framing a platform broad enough to hold all who were opposed to the extension of Slavery. It required the transcendent genius of the editor of the *Providence Journal*—the newly elected Republican Senator, to look over the whole field of politics and fully comprehend the necessities of the times. There were some things to be done that never entered into their political philosophy ! although their object was to consolidate the Republican Party of the nation, to meet the great issue pending before the country. The object of the Rhode Island Senator was to perpetuate his own power and influence, and as a means necessary to this end, to keep about him all the old political Whig hacks in the State ; to stir up by the use of his organ, the *Providence Journal*, every obsolete and latent prejudice—to ignore every generous and brave sentiment—to insist on keeping the issue of the tariff prominent—to protect from fanatical speeches the reputations of Clay and Webster—to glose over the Dred Scott decision, and to swear, Falstaff like, that the candidate of the Republican Party was a "bolter and seceder," because he persisted in maintaining that his political allegiance was due

to the National Organization and not to the "Head Centre" located on Washington Row, Providence, Rhode Island.

During the canvass, Mr. Garrison was an object for your frequent and malevolent thrusts. On one occasion, I had referred to him at a meeting in Rail Road Hall in reply to your "Whig Candidate of the Henry Clay school," who took that opportunity to pronounce a eulogy on the great compromiser.

In an unpremeditated and spontaneous remark, I expressed the opinion that the fame of Mr Garrison would survive that of Clay or Webster.* In commenting on this you say, "seldom has a political weapon of so great strength been employed to so little damage to the man who put it into the hands of his opponents." In the first part of the above sentence there is a large amount of truth. The weapon *was* formidable; and you did not fail to use it with all the force which it was capable of exerting. You took measure of the matter, and said just enough and at the right time to produce the most effect. Shortly before the special election in June, you speak thus of the great emancipator:

"If Mr. Garrison is not one of the most dangerous men in the land it is only because the extreme character of his views and the violence of his mode of expressing them, prevent him from having many followers."

It would be difficult to condense more detraction into the same space than you have succeeded in doing in the above sentence.

In your declaration, which I have already quoted, that I "was supported in a severe struggle in the American Republican Convention, running through eighteen ballots," your evident purpose is to identify me with that party where I was not, and could not be a candidate. When the Convention met, it was well settled that my running as the candidate of the Republicans, whose nomination I had already accepted, would in no degree be changed by any nomination the American Republican party might make. You had done your utmost to mix up and complicate the politics of the State; but there were a few Republicans in the convention, never exceeding seven, who cast their ballots for me; and on this fact you base your assertion that I was a candidate in the ordinary sense, before

* Massachusetts has recently voted to place a statue of Mr. Garrison in the National capital, side by side with those of Gov. Winthrop and John Adams, to represent the third historic period of that noble Commonwealth. What was prophecy in '59 has become history in '66.

that Convention. Now the truth is, the whole of that long contest was the result of your arrogant attempt to force on the American Republican Party Mr. Sheffield, your exclusive favorite. For weeks if not for months, before the meeting of any Convention, the whole district knew whom the editor of the Journal and newly elected Senator preferred for representative to Congress from the Eastern District—not because of his eminent qualifications—(let me not be understood as disparaging Mr. Sheffield's qualifications) no, such was not the reason of the selection, but personal devotion to your interest established him in your favor. He had exercised a controlling influence in the election of yourself as Senator of the United States.—But there was very little chance of his receiving a nomination from the Republican Party. You also had good reasons for supposing, judging by the past, that Mr. Davis stood well with the Republican Party of the State, as they had tendered to him the nomination for Congress in 1857, which, from considerations wholly of a private nature, was at that time declined, and there was no reason to suppose that it might not again occur. This would throw Mr. Sheffield out and defeat your partial preference, so that your scheme to give him the nominations made this division and disorganization a necessity; and you now audaciously charge me with the commission of an act done for a purpose, deliberately by yourself; showing in its origin and progress, an utter contempt for the claims of any other candidate than your favorite, and ending for once, in your discomfiture in the Convention. You announce on the 28th of February, 1859, that

“A position of neutrality is not becoming,” and that “we have no hesitation in saying that we regard the American Republican Organization as the authorized and regular expression of the opposition.”

If at this time you had elected to support the Republican Party, we should have continued members of the same organization, and I should have escaped all your false, bitter and unmerited denunciations.

“Few are the steps from dereliction to persecution.”

Yet the plainest principles of fidelity to the Republican Party required you to give its candidate a cordial and hearty support. You had at that time, as representatives of the Whig element of the Republican Party, both Senators in Congress,

(Mr. Simmons and yourself,) and the Western District was represented by Mr. Brayton, also from the same party, while the poor boon of one representative was denied to the Democratic element of the Party, after the brave fight and grand victory of 1856.

I can only think of your conduct in this matter, as the very essence of political meanness. If such a policy had prevailed throughout the country, the success of the Republican Party would have been impossible in 1860. Contrast this with the policy of Mr. Lincoln in the construction of his cabinet. To avoid all cause of complaint, it was divided equally between the representatives of the two old parties. In his estimation it was no disqualification that a man had been a member of the Democratic Party.

In your strictures upon an article which appeared in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, there is so much in confirmation of my charges against you, that I copy nearly the whole, notwithstanding its length. You say :—

"The *Journal of Commerce* copies from this paper with some commendation an article in which we dispute the monstrous doctrine that the Supreme Court may not rightfully interpret the constitution in respect to the power of Congress, and defends the Republican Party proper from the responsibility of such radical and destructive heresy. The *Journal of Commerce* calls this "the ultra Republican doctrine of the day." It is true that this doctrine was announced by the *Convention which split off from the regular and prevailing organization in this State*; but it is but justice to say, that it is not avowed or defended, but rather palliated on the ground that the resolution was accidentally, thoughtlessly passed, and that it is to be taken in connection with other resolutions that essentially modify it. Although we did not hesitate, in the beginning, to denounce this doctrine, and although we cannot find in the subsequent resolutions the qualifying clauses that we claimed for them, we have cheerfully given place to the explanations offered in excuse for the first one.

"And now we ask the *Journal of Commerce*, which is so fond of dwelling upon the ultra radicalism of the Republican Party and upon the high conservatism of the Democratic, to note that while the oldest Republican paper in the State, utterly and emphatically denies this doctrine, the organ of the Democratic Party, while also denying it in National affairs, holds it in State affairs; claims that our Supreme Court, which derives its powers from the same words that are employed in the Federal Constitution to confer the same power on the Supreme Court of the United States, does not have the power to interpret the Constitution in respect to the powers of the General Assembly, but that the General Assembly has the right to revoke the decrees of the court, to set aside its decisions and practically to instruct it in the manner in which it shall decide the cases between individuals.

"Nor is this all; in the Eastern Congressional District, the opposition have two candidates. One of them was an old Whig, who remained with that party as long as it was a party, and then joined the Republicans. The other was a Democrat in his political organization, yet an abolitionist in his sentiments, never concealed but openly declared on all proper occasions. Since his nomination he has made the remarkable declaration, that William Lloyd Garrison will be remembered and honored when Henry Clay and Daniel Webster are forgotten.

Of the two men we support the former; the organ of the Democratic Party is not able to conceal its sympathy with the latter, and no one who reads its columns can doubt that it would prefer the election of Mr. Davis over Mr. Robinson.

"There is another question that agitates our community and that threatens the most serious consequences to a great department of our government.

"We have an admirable system of public instruction, admirable even among the schools of New England. The schools for the white and the colored children are separate, and no doubt is entertained by those who have the charge of them and those who contribute most to their support, that they ought to be kept separate, that the introduction of the negro children into the schools now confined to the whites, would lead to evil consequences to both. This is the judgment of the city government, of the school committee, of the superintendent of the schools, and of the teachers in the schools of both kinds. An agitation has been commenced and carried on with great effect and pertinacity to abolish the colored schools and send the children to the white schools, all to mix together. This radical scheme has been steadily opposed in this paper, and has found its chief support, not openly but indirectly and covertly, yet none the less effectively, in the organ of the Democratic Party, which has not ceased to urge the destructive measure and to encourage the men who are thus trying to break down our system of public instruction."

The above article is not the production of some obscure and mendicant "penny a liner," but proceeds from the brain of the editor of the "oldest Republican Journal in the State"—the oldest editor in the State—a graduate of Brown University—an ex-Governor of Rhode Island—and, at the time it was written, a recently elected Senator of the United States.

It appeared in the *Providence Journal* on the day preceding the election, April 4th, 1859, its special object being to defeat the Republican candidate for Congress from the Eastern District.

The Pro-Slavery Whig *Journal of Commerce* endorses the assault made by you on the Republican Platforms, National and State, and you write this labored and crafty article in commendation of your own treachery and in defence of the "Republican Party proper" from the responsibility of such radical and destructive heresy.

It was not your "Republican Party proper" that passed the following, June 17th, 1856:—

"Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery."

You ignored the Philadelphia Platform during the canvass of 1859. So did the Fillmore Party in this State to which you allied yourself. They professed nothing better—they had a right to do so; you had not. The very day you decided to

assail the principles of the National Party, you should have resigned your place as a Republican Senator, and not disgraced your exalted position by using it for purposes so detrimental to Freedom and Humanity.

The issue before the country was, whether the Supreme Court of the United States, by virtue of its decision in the Dred Scott case, carried Slavery into all our National Territory? The Republican Platform claimed that the Constitution conferred on Congress sovereign power over the territories, and you denounce in unmeasured terms the Republican Party of the State for maintaining the doctrine thus enunciated in the National Platform, and for resisting a construction of the constitution, which, if admitted, left us no remedy but the dread arbitration of the sword, to save ourselves from this yawning gulf of judicial power. The reason and instinct of every right minded and morally sane man revolted against such an interpretation of the Federal Constitution.

You stigmatize it as "the monstrous doctrine that the Supreme Court may not rightfully interpret the Constitution in respect to the power of Congress." You were at issue with every Republican Statesman in the country when you made this unqualified and sweeping declaration, and worse still, with the rights of human nature itself. The fact was, you had no real comprehension of the perils before us, no appreciation of the principles or issues involved therein; and every thing connected with the politics of the State, was to be played out on the old plan of 'political clap trap. Your bones were dry, and there was nothing in them to enable you to predict a coming storm, and you naturally returned to wallow in the mire of old party politics. From the opening to the close of the campaign, only such arguments were brought forward as corrupted the man who used them, every one of which was an appeal to some narrow prejudice, sordid consideration, or cowardly apprehension.

Your article, to any one conversant with local matters and classes, is worth studying; and when seen in all its bearings on the pending canvass, it must be admitted to be the production of a master in political ingenuity. It covers a great deal of ground, and I fancy it was one of the best timed and effective editorials of the campaign, appearing as it did the day before the election.

It commences by dealing with great subjects and National

issues, and professes to vindicate the "Republican Party proper" "from the ultra doctrine of the day." But pro-Slavery is at best vile and vulgar, and as a consequence the senatorial editor descends rapidly to the lowest method of treatment, and directly proceeds to violate again the Republican Platform, by reviving and "remembering all past political differences and divisions" to the fullest extent; assails the Republican candidate because he was once a "Democrat" and is now an abolitionist; denounces the Democratic Party for its virtuous advocacy of equal school rights without distinction of color, and also announces that "this radical scheme has been steadily opposed in this paper" and has found its chief support in the organ of the Democratic Party.

How base for you to stir up that deep and dreadful prejudice against the "negro children" as you call them in your pro-slavery classics, doing your utmost to keep alive that unchristian hatred, apparently for no higher purpose than the turning of votes against the candidate of the Republican Party.

Again: how very ingeniously you sandwich Mr. Garrison, and Mr. Davis, the Republican candidate for Congress, between "Hazard and Ives" and the "Negro children!" Who but yourself could be your parallel in this skilful arrangement? Your intent was to make me a party in the Hazard and Ives controversy, and thereby turn the timid, wealthy and conservative force of the district against me. The injustice of thus associating me with a controversy in which I had taken no part, expressed no opinion, and really had not at the time formed any on the special merits of the case at issue, is apparent. At the same time you were using Mr. Van Zandt, the legislative leader of the party in the house of Representatives, against the Supreme Court of the State, giving him prominence, power and opportunity to disseminate his opinions, having him canvass the district, and assail me politically, in concert with the American Republican candidate, Mr. Robinson—*par nobile fratrum*.

In your *Journal* of September 23d, 1864, you assert that "Mr. Davis was chosen to Congress from the Eastern District by the Democratic Party in an election by far the most corrupt that the State had ever witnessed, never had money been so used before." I have four times run for Congress, twice as the candidate of the democratic party; and in both of these

elections the amount expended by me was much less than when I ran as the candidate of the Republicans. It is well understood in Rhode Island that no one can be a candidate for an important office before the people, without a considerable sum is furnished to be applied to the payment of *Registry Taxes*, which has now become a very serious expense ; and, if I am correctly informed, Mr. Jenckes, in his last election, when there was no contest whatever, paid for necessary expenses, a sum, in amount, equal to all expended by me in both elections, when I ran as the candidate of the Democratic Party, in 1853 and 1855. In the contest of 1855, I was defeated by Mr. Durfee, who rode in on the topmost wave of "Americanism;" and neither money, character, services nor talent could then have made the result other than it was.

All the money used by the Republicans, beyond the necessary expenses, in the contest of 1859, is chargeable directly and solely to *your* treachery. If you had not "bolted" and taken the Party Organ with you, there would have been no serious opposition to the Republican candidate. You are the last live man that ought to bring before the public for review the recorded events of that contest. In politics, a blunder is said to be worse than a crime ; and you have committed one in calling from their repose the transactions of that campaign.

No inconsiderable portion of the funds then expended were used to sustain a press (the *Providence Tribune*) for the purpose of counteracting in its columns, the effects of the continuous misrepresentations and plausible perversions of facts, which unceasingly flowed from the columns of your Organ. All these were so cunningly phrased as to be most effective in steadily undermining the morals of the State, and thus preparing the way for the stupendous political debauch of 1860, for which you are in no small degree answerable. But it was not always that which appeared in your paper, addressed to the better class of readers, which did this work ; you had besides, your corps of subterranean friends, ready, adroit and unscrupulous ; and whoever became an object for the point of their wit and course jokes, might consider himself fortunate if he escaped open ridicule and personal insult.

If the Democratic leaders of those days used money in elections, they preserved *their honorable relations to the party* and its individual members ; the success of the candidate was by them held subordinate to the triumph of the party. There was

no leader, however hot in the pursuit of office, that did not connect his own success with the consolidation of the organization. Neither the best nor the worst of them had attained to your eclectic disdain of party obligations or personal honor, so that they did or could proceed, as has been done by you, to deliberately disorganize and distract the ranks of the party, by packing primary meetings with outside barbarians, by dividing city and town committees, by sending to the State and other Conventions, double delegations, by assailing and slandering the State executive when of their own party, on the false assumption that he stood between them and their aspirations, and by removing faithful officers of the Federal Government because they resisted their destructive and ambitious schemes for personal aggrandizement. John Adams remarks that "corruption in elections is the great enemy of Freedom;" and the offence of bribery is everywhere punishable by statutes rarely enforced. My individual opinion is, that the bribery so extensively and effectively practised in your recent Senatorial election, *bad as it was*, was not, in its moral effects, so baneful as the general method by which that election was accomplished. The whole scheme was planned and executed with an unscrupulous adroitness and audacity that find no parallel in the politics of this State. The actors and the events furnish no mean materials for an interesting and instructive drama.

Your record for a single year may be very edifying to political tricksters and turncoats. The example of a person in a position of eminence always affords shelter and justification above and beyond that which an obscure and unofficial character could offer; and it is therefore all the more valuable and important to have it preserved and placed where it may be of public service.

On the 28th of Feb, 1859, you announce in the *Providence Journal* your purpose to "bolt" the Republican nomination for Congress, and declare that "a position of neutrality is not becoming us," and decide that the American Republican is the organization which you will support. On the 1st of April, 1859, (a proper day for such an address to appear in your organ,) the State Central Committee of your *pet party* speak officially of the Republican Organization as a thing "that may or may not be had in the Presidential election of 1860," and it emphatically asks, "what warrant have they that the opposition to the National Democratic party in 1860 will assume that name?"

On the 22nd of June, 1859, you had progressed downward if not onward. You audaciously declare that Mr. Robinson, the candidate of the party that issued the address, "stands on the only platform broad enough to hold all the opponents of slavery." This was put forth the day before the special election for member of Congress. The defeat of the Republican candidate was effected, and you are found, as the time for the assembling of Congress draws near, assuming another character. You have accomplished all you desired by the present disorganization of the Republican Party; and you therefore indicate to *your American Republican Committee*, composed mostly of old Whigs, either agreeing with you in opinion, or having no opinions of their own and were serviceable to you in carrying out your scheme, that it is best to accede to the demand of the Republicans to adopt the Philadelphia Platform. And lo! It is done; and the two committees come together and unite in the call which follows.

"We take great pleasure in publishing the call of a State convention as agreed upon by the American Republican and the Republican State Committee. The union thus happily effected, will meet with the general and cordial assent of those to whom the call was addressed, and we shall go into the next election and prepare for the great contest of 1860 with an undivided front."

"The electors of Rhode Island without regard to past political differences, who are opposed to the present Federal Administration, and in favor of the platform of principles adopted by the Philadelphia Convention, June 17th, 1856," &c.

Signed

BYRON DIMON, *Chairman Republican Committee*,
R. R. HAZARD Jr., *Secretary* " "

SIMON H. GREENE, *Chairman American Republican Committee*,
GEORGE MANCHESTER, *Secretary*, " "

Previous to this union of the two parties, and as early as Feb. 8th, of the same year, a proposition to unite and adopt the Philadelphia platform was made by the Republican State Committee and rejected by the American Republican. But so soon as you gave the order for the two to coalesce, the thing was done, and immediately comes the endorsement of the Senatorial editor in his *role* as organizer of the Republican Party.

We next find you coming out in a new character and on a new stage—defender of the Republican Party against the very class of persons whom you had lifted to political consequence

in the State—yes, doing precisely the work for which you had assailed others in a long roll of infamous political articles.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22d, 1860.

DEAR SIR.—

“A rumor has reached us that some hesitation was felt by the delegation in Congress, in supporting the nominees of the Republican State Convention. Nothing could be more unfounded.

It seems to us that the Republican Party has presented no crisis in which the importance of a cordial support of its nominees was more plainly demanded by a regard for its integrity and its highest interests.

Hon. SAMUEL G. ARNOLD.

JAMES F. SIMMONS,
H. B. ANTHONY,
WM. D. BRAYTON,
CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON.”

We have now all come together again—Mr. Anthony, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Davis—hail fellows and good Republicans well met! But who of this party *switched off* in February, 1859, and supported the candidate of a local party, a party which, in March doubted whether such an organization as the Republican would exist at all in 1860? Who, furthermore, declared on the 22d of June, 1859, that the National platform was not broad enough to hold all the opponents of slavery. And in November, 1859, that the same platform was all sufficient for the great contest of 1860.

The “rumor” that some hesitation was felt about your supporting the Republican Party was quite current and perfectly natural; and it has always been believed that you in your secret heart desired the defeat of the Republican party in the State election of 1860: at all events, you prepared the way and put into effective motion the machinery by which that defeat was accomplished. Nearly all the most active men of the American Republican organization became partisans of Mr. Sprague, and joined in the general and disgraceful scramble. Old party ties were swept away. The candidate had no avowed political opinions, and probably did not possess any; and the disorganization and moral confusion inaugurated by you had complete sway in the State election. The little Commonwealth was laid prostrate by the power of Mammon, “the least erected of the spirits that fell from heaven;” and throughout the land resounded the shout of Conservatism and Democracy, that the Republican Party was defeated in Rhode Island. The defeat of the party and the means by which it was effected are thus

announced in your Organ of September 6, 1860, the day after the election :

"The contest on Wednesday was one of the most spirited and excited that the State ever saw. The aggregate vote exceeded that cast in the last Presidential election by more than thirty-four hundred. We are glad to know that notwithstanding the intensity of the feeling manifested, the day passed off without any noteworthy trouble or disorder. We trust however that it may long remain conspicuous and unparalleled in the annals of our State in respect to its demoralizing influence upon the public sentiment. Never was so much money spent at an election before, and never was it spent so boldly and openly for the purpose of purchasing votes."

Here is another item in the long list of your gross perversions and misrepresentations. See *Journal* Sept. 29th, 1864.

"Mr. Davis denies that he was an outside candidate in 1859, and affirms that he belonged to the Republican and not to the American Republican party, and owed no allegiance to the latter which nominated Mr. Robinson.

We are aware that Mr. Davis, apprehending that he would fail to obtain the regular nomination unless he strengthened himself by some extraneous influence, got together a convention of his own. That convention, himself the chairman of the committee that called it."

You cannot find a person of character who will endorse your statement, that I was a member of the American Republican Party. When you affirm that I "got together a convention of my own," you make me out a man of extraordinary power and influence in the state. You might as well have gone a step further and charged me with getting up the Philadelphia Convention. You would be quite as near the truth, for the one convention was the offspring of the other. I had no organ of my own, no office, no ready pen to write paragraphs like the specimens I have given of yours, I had had no practice in the art of stabbing, slandering and misrepresenting those who were in my way politically. I had never reduced falsehood to a system, nor become so perfect in the art by a long practice of it on others, as, at last, to impose it on myself. I had neither the power nor the qualities to create a party, nor the desire to maintain or defend one, merely to subserve my own ends, regardless of political consequences to the State or country. I certainly was not the person who played that part in the canvass of 1859.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Republican State Convention, February 16th, 1859. It is to this portion of the series of resolutions that you refer when you call on the *Journal of Commerce* to specially note, "that the oldest Republican paper in the State utterly and emphatically denies

their doctrine." They were drawn and presented to the convention, by the late William M. Chace, at that time the Rhode Island member of the National Republican Committee, composed of one from each state, Edwin D. Morgan being chairman, and representing the Republicans in some twenty-five states of the Union.

Resolved, 1st. That it is not within the legitimate province of the Supreme Court of the United States to determine the power of Congress under the Federal Constitution.

2nd. That in the recent Dred Scott decision, so called, the majority of the Judges of the Court have gone beyond the record, and pronounced extra judicial opinions concerning the relations of Slavery to the Constitution and the powers of Congress over the Territories.

3rd. That regarding these opinions as mere *obiter dicta*, we re-affirm the doctrines upon these questions, promulgated by the National Republican Convention which met at Philadelphia June 1856.

4th. That there are but two vital parties in the country—the Democratic Slavery organization, with its Cincinnati platform and Dred Scott decision; and the Republican Party, with its Philadelphia platform and its Constitutional principles, as illustrated by the ordinance of 1787—parties which exist, not as the offspring of accident or temporary policy, but as the necessary representatives of antagonistic ideas."

The campaign was conducted on the part of the Republicans with great vigor and activity. Several persons of note from other States were invited, and engaged in the canvass. Joshua R. Giddings, Galusha A. Grow, Anson Burlingame, Don Piatt and others, all spoke ably and earnestly in favor of sustaining the National organization. But the Senatorial Editor with his Organ and his subterraneans carried the day. He represented or misrepresented the issues, so as to put down effectually the "bolters and seceders," and "*the regular and prevailing organization*" was triumphant in Washington Row.

The contest did not fail to attract the notice of leading Republican papers in other States. The New York Evening Post, the Worcester Spy, and the National Era, all decidedly censured the policy of the disorganizers. The reply of the Senatorial Editor to the strictures of the National Era, edited by the late Doct. Bailey, one of the noblest and truest of men, is so characteristic that I give it a place here.

"The National Era thinks that it understands Rhode Island politics better than we do. Perhaps it does; but it is our weakness to think that this is one of the things that we know more about than the accomplished Editor of that paper." *Journal*, April 5th, 1859.

You were right, Senator. You had made the politics of the

State just what they were ; and when you attempt to palliate your apostacy as you frequently do, by saying that " the people endorse your course by their votes," your position barred you from such a plea. You held a place in the State of such eminent power and authority, that as you decided so went the majority, carried by force of the influence wielded by you in your dual capacity of Journalist and Senator. When that Organ of yours disorganized, the little Commonwealth felt it to its very centre ; and, conscious of your power, you dared at a critical time to strike down the Republican organization ; and in justification you present the demoralized majority you had seduced and misled by your shameful treachery,—thus using the powers conferred on you for the preservation of the party, to effect its destruction.

The extracts which follow will show to what pitiful shifts and expedients the Senator was driven in order to sustain himself against the well directed arguments put forth by the Republicans in favor of the National Party. The specimens I give are a fair sample of a long series which might be much extended. The first extract is from the *Journal* of February 27th, 1859 :—

" It is objected that the name American Republican is local and that the Party in Rhode Island should correspond with the National organization, otherwise the delegates to the next National Convention might not be admitted. The name is not peculiar to this State. It is the name in Massachusetts, and our friends are pretty good Republicans there. In Pennsylvania the opposition is called the Union Party. In New Jersey the opposition is called the Peoples' Party."

The next is from the *Journal* of March 18th, 1859 :—

" There seems to be no just cause of complaint, and we could see no soundness in the argument that it was necessary to nationalize the party so as to make it conform with the general organization throughout the country and to secure a representation for the State in the next Presidential Convention. We have never doubted that the delegates would be welcomed into the National Convention whether they called themselves American Republicans, as in Massachusetts, the Peoples' Party, as in New Jersey, or the Union Party, as in Pennsylvania."

Again, on April 1st, 1859, we have from your pen another repetition of the statement that our noble sister Massachusetts, has no Republican Party :—

" The name of the party in Rhode Island is the same that it is in Massachusetts. Does any body believe that the delegates from Massachusetts will be refused admission to the next National Convention because the party in that State is called American Republican ?"

Once more. In your Organ, June 9th, 1859, you make the extraordinary assertion :—

"The only dispute has been about a name and it is of no sort of public significance. The majority is asked to surrender the name under which the party united in 1856 and has acted ever since."

I pronounce the above assertion unqualifiedly false. The union of the opposition to the Federal administration in 1856, was effected by adopting the Republican name and Platform. I spoke in nearly every town in the State, and in some of them several times, heard all the campaign speakers during the whole period of that earnest struggle, and not a man of them from first to last called the Party by any other name than Republican.

Ah, Senator! had the Republican Party been victorious in 1856, the *Providence Journal* would have defended it valiantly, demanding all the spoils as exclusively its own. Your vision would not then have descried an American Republican Party, superseding, by its comprehensive Platform, the one adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of 1856. The cohesive power of public plunder would have held you and your Organ fast in the Party traces.

"Thou little valiant, great in villainy!
Thou ever strong upon the stronger side!
Thou fortune's champion, that dost never fight
But when her humorous ladyship is by
To teach thee safety."

Every one who reads these extracts and considers the source from which they emanated, will not wonder that the Republican Party in Rhode Island was beaten in 1860 in the State election, and in 1861 in both State and Congressional elections, one Democrat and one Conservative being sent to Congress. Mr. Robinson, the American Republican candidate in 1859, was defeated by Mr. Sheffield, the special friend of the Senatorial disorganizer.

You are now and have been since 1859 a member of the United States Senate, associated, and doubtless on friendly terms with Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson. During my short career in Congress, I made their acquaintance. I entertain a very high respect, and no small degree of admiration for both gentlemen. I wish to ask them, through you, if, at the time to which your above quoted paragraphs refer, there was not in Massachusetts, a powerful and well organized National Republican Party. But that is not all, I wish you to inquire further, if at that time they used their talents and of-

ficial influence in the State of Massachusetts, to keep alive a local organization, with Gov. Gardner and men of like character and opinions for leaders, calling itself American Republican. Perhaps these distinguished Senators might resent your query as an insult to their sense of honor. My own opinion is, that either of them would have parted with his own right hand rather than have used it for such a purpose.

You make large claims to reputation as an Editor ; but that reputation will perish before your body is consigned to its last rest, if you continue to make no better use of your talents than to place on record statements so utterly false and untenable. For your conduct in 1859 you deserved political outlawry ; but the sovereign power cannot be called to an account !—“ the King can do no wrong ! ” and so you escaped your just deserts.

Having now finished this outline of a portion of your political history, I present the sketch for your contemplation. I have endeavored to represent you as you really have appeared to me, appealing mainly to your own political record to verify the correctness of the portrait I have drawn of you.

Slowly but surely, even handed justice is ever vindicating its supremacy in human affairs ; and all offenders against its inflexible rule must, in due time, be brought to judgment. Strive as you may, you cannot escape the merited condemnation by charging on others the offences of which you yourself have been prominently guilty.

Very respectfully your fellow citizen,

THOMAS DAVIS.

North Providence, March 26th, 1866.



ERRATUM.—On page 14, the sentence—“ *This is a very good Whig Platform* ”—is not part of the *quotation*, but a *comment*.

APPENDIX.

For the purpose of showing who it is that has "a temper not oversweet by nature," I place in juxtaposition, extracts from the remarks made by me in the Electoral Convention, and the opening comments thereon of the Senatorial Editor, in his organ of Sept. 23, 1864.

I will leave every intelligent and candid reader to draw his own inferences, simply remarking, that the charges made by me were solid, true and substantial, and they deserved to be answered in some other manner than to turn "and berate me like an angry scold." "It seems, however, to suit his tastes, and he is the judge of his own conduct."

Mr. Davis took the floor again and spoke in opposition to Gov. Dyer's views as follows:

"I confess that I do not sympathize to the fullest extent with the last speaker. I have something in me, right or wrong, which likes to see things settled properly and on a basis of principle, and I am not to be turned aside by the gentleman's desire for harmony and peace, unless it be a peace that can be made through a just course of conduct. I have felt, gentlemen, and I feel it now, that I would just as soon compromise the question of secession with Jefferson Davis, as compromise with the men who seceded in the city of Providence, and organized, I think for the same reason, when they saw that the power was passing out of their hands legitimately by the action of the people. They determined to rule or ruin, as the case may be. I do not think to ruin; but I say to rule, and they took this extraordinary means to re-organize the city of Providence. Then, sir, I agree that they obtained a majority of their fellow citizens; but how was that majority secured? It was obtained by the grossest bribery, and I make the charge here, believing it to be true. At nearly every poll in the central part of the city men went secretly to obtain a consideration for their votes. That was the way the Senator from Providence was elected, and I say it, believing it to be true, by disorganization and bribery; and I am not willing, fellow citizens, to waive the discussion of this question. I do ask, fairly and honorably, for the settlement of this question on its merits. I do not care, personally, more than any other man. But I have looked on this thing until

SENATOR ANTHONY'S COMMENTS.

"To say that Mr. Davis made an extraordinary exhibition, in the electoral convention, would not be strictly true. Doubtless, it would have been an extraordinary exhibition in almost anybody else, but with due allowance for the effect of disappointed ambition and of recent defeat upon a temper not over sweet by nature, we cease to feel much surprise that he should bring his petty personal griefs to the notice of the convention, and detain the assembled representatives of the party with a recital of the reasons why the people of North Providence would not send him to the General Assembly.

Yet it was melancholy to see a man of Mr. Davis's talents and position berating, like an angry scold, all who differed from him, and dilating upon his own purity and patriotism, and the corruption of everybody else. It was melancholy to see such a man repeating stale and refuted slanders, and charging bad motives upon those who were associated with him in the same cause. It seemed, however, to suit his tastes, and he is the judge of his own conduct. Mr. Davis's first assault was upon the Providence JOURNAL, which, with great indignation, he declared had been so conducted as to command the public confidence, and had gained a large influence in the State. Mr. Davis has so carefully avoided this offence, in his own public career, and is so free from any suspicion of the kind, that it is hardly generous in him to reproach less fortunate people with consequences that can never fall upon him from similar causes. Passing from the paper to individuals, he assailed both the

my indignation has required me to speak. Gentlemen, I am not willing to sit down as a member of this party, or any party, in which a single man, whoever he may be, claims all the rights of office, and when he cannot have it by fair means, his friends take foul means to accomplish that end. I call upon the gentlemen of this committee to investigate this matter. Let me tell you, gentlemen, the great power in this State is lodged in the city of Providence. I freely speak it, and frankly, because I am not a man to cover such matters. Here was the only paper of any force in our party in the State, and when you connect with that fact another, that its editor is a Senator in Congress, and the owner of the paper, which paper is substantially his organ rather than the organ of the party, you will see that when it is necessary to throw other men out, and to disorganize the party, to accomplish his election to the high place he occupies, it is done.

Gentlemen, I have no wish to enter into a personal contest with any man. I said, on a previous occasion, this simply: 'That it was a dishonor to the State when only one man could be found to fill the place of Senator.' I say so now.

'Now in the name of all the gods at once, Upon what meat does this our Cæsar feed, That he has grown so great?'

A man who has a million of dollars is measured by his ability to contribute five thousand or ten thousand to carry an election. We have a condition of things that exists in no other free State. No other State has been so corrupted by the influence of money; and because this is so, I have sometimes wished that we might be annexed to Massachusetts, so that we could have a political community where the power would not be concentrated in half a dozen men."

It is time that the people of this State looked at this thing fairly. Providence is very powerful, and it is so, really, through that single organ directing nearly all the politics of the State, and it is not doing it by fair means. I would insist, if I had the right to insist, that the men who represent this State should not be the owners of the party organ. I think if I occupied such a position, that it would be no more than honorable to put myself out of one place or the other, and not combine too much power in our little State. If you wish to be ruled by that, well and good. I only make my protest against it. I will not be ruled by it. I heard a personal friend of Senator Anthony say that as I had belonged to the Democratic party ten years ago, I had no claim to the favor of this party. That is the language uttered by the Senator's personal friends. In that spirit the party has been carried on, and it is the cause of a good deal of the results so visible in the constant disputes and disorganizations we have witnessed here.

Senators from this State, charging them with gross political corruption, then one of the Representatives. Indeed he hardly named a man but to malign him, and the only persons of whom he spoke with positive praise were Gov. Smith and Thomas W. Dorr.

Weary of single attacks, he passed to a whole community, and denounced the Second Ward in this city in a body. Its first offence was that it was rich; but on reflection he admitted that wealth was not necessarily a crime unless as in the case in question, it was connected with cultivation and intelligence, and even then, with the liberality that characterized his whole speech, he admitted that people had a legal right to be both rich and cultivated, although he strongly intimated that, in such case, their influence should be carefully guarded against, and they should be held as of evil example, and unworthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens. But the Second Ward was not enough for the insatiate Davis, and he pounced upon the whole city, the Union electors of which, after twice defeating his friends and the Democrats together, had culminated their outrage by electing to the convention delegates that were unacceptable to the caucus in North Providence.—Next his wrathful appetite, growing by what it fed on, would take nothing less than the whole State. He seemed like the Roman tyrant, who wished that all the people had but a single neck, that he might strike it off at one blow. He then denounced the great body of his fellow citizens, as the very weak instruments of a few very bad men, mere 'white trash'—we quote the exact words which Mr. Davis thinks proper to apply to the people of Rhode Island—and said that he wished the State was annexed to Massachusetts. It was Miss Squeers, the amiable and accomplished daughter of the immortal proprietor of Dotheboy's Hall, who in a moment of uncommon vexation, exclaimed, 'Mamma, I hate everybody.' Mr. Davis has been reading Dickens. His speech is not original. It is a borrowed idea, elaborated. We could not think of making so important a territorial change, even to accommodate the amiable gentleman from North Providence; but sharing in what we know must be the general disposition to oblige him, in this respect, we will suggest a mode in which, possibly, he may effect his purpose, without so great inconvenience to other people. If he should feel disposed to annex himself to Massachusetts, he may feel sure that he will find no barrier at the frontier to arrest his exodus, and he may rest in his new home, secure that no expedition from this side of the line will ever be sent over to kidnap the vagrant treasure, and bring it back to a soil that we know is not worthy of him; for he belongs to that class of our citizens happily described by Benjamin Hazard, as 'men who came among us uninvited, and upon whose departure there is no restraint.'"



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